

Necessities of the War and the Conditions of Success in it.

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A SERMON

Preached in the Village Church, before the College and the united
Congregations of the town of Amherst, Mass.,

ON THE NATIONAL FAST DAY,

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1861.

BY REV. WM. A STEARNS, D. D.

President of Amherst College.

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REV. DR. STEARNS :

DEAR SIR :—At a recent meeting of the Students of College, it was voted to request for publication, a copy of the Discourse preached by you on the occasion of our late National Fast.

The candor, earnestness, and eminent patriotism which characterized your Discourse, led us to make this request.

Very respectfully yours,

M. FAYETTE DICKINSON, E. HUGHITT, F. G. McDONALD, J. S. RUNNELLS,	}	Committee.
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Amherst College, Oct. 17th, 1861.

TO MESSRS. M. FAYETTE DICKINSON, E. HUGHITT, F. G. McDONALD, and J. S. RUNNELLS :

GENTLEMEN : I am pleased that you think well of the discourse preached "on the occasion of the late National Fast," and cheerfully comply with your wishes respecting it. After its publication, in the "Springfield Republican," and the "Hampshire and Franklin Express," at the earnest request of some gentlemen who thought a more extended circulation of it desirable, an edition was printed in pamphlet form, and has just come from the press. Herewith, I send you a copy of this last issue, and you are at liberty to publish the same in any way that is most agreeable to you.

Respectfully and cordially,

I am, gentlemen,

Your ob't serv't,

W. A. STEARNS.

Amherst College, Oct. 18th, 1861.

SERMON.

II. Chronicles, 14th: 11.—“Lord, it is nothing with Thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power; help us, O Lord our God; for we rest on Thee.”

Solemn are the circumstances under which we have assembled; funeral occasions, the hour when we hang in doubt over the life of our friends, hardly more so. We are in deep trouble. Had the country been invaded by some foreign power determined to subjugate its population, and had we the entire resources of the united nation for our defense, we should even then feel that a great calamity had come upon us. But we are a divided people, not in arms against a foreign foe, but in arms against ourselves, and every blow which is struck on either side, is a blow upon ourselves. All the property destroyed is our property, and the blood of slaughter so freely poured out is all our blood. Great successes are great disasters. Whether we conquer or are conquered, the sufferings received and the sufferings imposed are within the limits of our own land. Civil war is upon us and no man's foresight can penetrate to its termination or comprehend its issues. We believe that the right is with us, but be we guilty or be we guiltless of this conflict, we are brought into perplexity and trouble by it. Property has already been consumed by millions—hundreds of families are in mourning because some loved brother or son has perished on the battle-field, or fallen into the hands of the enemy. The newspapers are read daily with trembling, in thousands of homes. Not only this, but in many parts of the land, the very foundations of government have been overturned, and a reign of terror taken its place. States are arrayed against states, and parts of states against parts of states, college classmates, lov-

ing like brothers, against college classmates, families against families, and in many instances a man's foes are those of his own household. We had believed that treason and rebellion would soon be put down and loyalty and peace restored. But instead of great successes, we have met with destructive and mortifying disasters. The clouds, even to the hopeful, look black, and the land is agitated as by the shakings of an earthquake.

Under these circumstances, we are called upon as a people professing belief in an overruling providence, to humble ourselves for our sins, and by prayer and fasting to seek the blessing of God on our arms and our nation.

To perform this duty intelligently, it is important for us to understand the position we occupy. Many of our secular papers furnish an article daily, on what they call "the situation," or the condition and prospects of the war. Using the term in a broader signification, I propose the *situation religiously considered*, as the subject of this discourse. I shall endeavor to ascertain and describe briefly, some of our relations to God in this terrible conflict, that we may act with more confidence where we are right, and avoid those courses which challenge his judgments upon us, and fulfill the conditions of success.

I begin with the proposition that war is sometimes lawful. I say some times, for none of us can justify wars of ambition, or wars of revenge or wars of plunder. But wars for self-defense, for national existence, for the punishment of conspiracy and treason, for putting down rebellion, for the support of government and the maintenance of God's justice in civil relations, come under a different category. Whether they are right or wrong, in the individual case, must depend on circumstances, and particularly on the motives with which they are undertaken, and the measure of necessity which demands them.

I only say that some wars are lawful; For, first, the instinct of self-preservation proves it. This is a universal instinct, and always incites to resistance by violence, in cases of mortal attack, where there are no other means of escape, unless the baser instinct of fear

predominates over it. Equally universal and powerful is the instinct by which men defend the lives of their children and families. Now instinct is the voice of God. It may be perverted, but it always has legitimate applications. If self-defense and defense of families, by the utmost use of force in extreme cases, is an original instinct, then its exercise is sometimes lawful, and what is lawful to the individual is lawful for a stronger reason to an organized aggregation of individuals or a nation.

In the second place, the consequences of non-resistance show the lawfulness of war. This is not a world of angels, but of depraved men, and depraved men cannot be controlled without fear. No nation, though itself inoffensive, could exist in our world unprotected by arms. How soon would it be overrun by predatory bands, plundered and destroyed. Nor in the present stage of civilization could any people hold themselves together on principles of non-resistance. Ambition, avarice, sensual passion, revenge, would produce internal commotions; and anarchy, wrong undressed, destruction of public virtue and everything good, the national life not excepted, would be the consequence. The question is not whether the fact of war does not always involve the idea of a guilty cause somewhere, but simply whether one of the parties constrained to engage in the war, may not be innocent? And my argument for the affirmative is the consequences of national non-resistance. Annihilate the military power in Europe, and not one of its great nationalities could continue. Some may imagine that extensive police arrangements might take the place of armies. But a police to be efficient must be armed, and an armed police of power enough to put down a formidable rebellion, what is it virtually but an army? and when it meets with strong resistance, and puts it down by force, what is this but war?

My third argument for the lawfulness of war, under some circumstances, is derived from the sacred scriptures, The New Testament nowhere prohibits, but sanctions it. True, Christ is the Prince of Peace, and when all the principles of his religion come to be carried out, there will be universal peace. It is true, also, that

Christianity inculcates upon us the spirit of peace, the forgiveness of injuries, the duty of living peaceably with all, as far as possible, in our personal relations, and in public affairs. But not a passage can be found which, even by implication, forbids a nation to sustain itself, when necessary, by armed force. Nor is there one which throws disparagement on the military profession. On the contrary, when the soldiers asked John the Baptist what they should do as preparatory to his baptism, his answer was not, "lay down your arms," but abstain from those vices to which soldiers are most addicted. Our Saviour wrought one of his first miracles in behalf of a Roman soldier whose great faith he commended, while he did not forbid him to be a soldier still. Paul, whose business it was to develop and apply the principles of religion which Christ had introduced, not only nowhere condemns the use of arms, but, especially in the case of civil government, sanctions it, insisting that the Roman Christians should obey the government, that government is ordained of God, that whoever resists it resists the ordinance of God and shall receive damnation, and, also, that government bears not the sword in vain, but is a minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath on him that doeth evil. The sword to execute law, war to put down rebellion is here justified. Turn back to the Old Testament. Here, nothing is more certain than that God, as head of the Hebrew theocracy, sanctioned war. He ordained it, he required it, he planned its engagements, he often led the armies of Israel and secured their victories. It was by his express direction, as an awful duty imposed by Him, that the Israelites carried on those wars of extermination which destroyed the old pagans of Canaan. And in the civil wars of the Hebrews, once and again, the party in the right acted under his sanction. Indeed, in the Old Testament, God is made known as a "Man of war," "the God of battles," "Who is this king of glory? the Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." I am aware that some persons in our day, chiefly from a misunderstanding of it, hesitate to receive the principles of this Book. But if they have faith in Christianity, the argument now drawn from the Old

Testament will still be conclusive. Christ had the Old Testament before him. He was familiar with the record of its wars. He never denounced them, much less the character of Him who ordained them. On the contrary, he accepted and adored the God of the Hebrews, and he gave their sacred writings his most unqualified approval. But it is said that the spirit of the New Testament is against war. True, as already granted, it stands opposed to all those bad passions which originate the occasions of war. But when those bad passions exist on one side—when violence has been threatened and inflicted, the spirit as well as the precept of the New Testament places the sword in the hands of the rightful authorities, and requires them to use it. God is benevolent, Christianity is a scheme of benevolence, but God is also just and an avenger, and Christianity was given to sustain justice as well as benevolence. Nor did it shock the spiritual sensibilities of an inspired apostle, in the very last revelations which he has given us of Christ, to set him forth as a warrior, clothed in blood-dyed garments, at the head of the armies of Heaven, executing the righteous justice of God on the nations.

It is an argument to the same conclusion, that the best men, in all generations, have been constrained, in some cases, to sanction war. Christian peace men, so called, have been often placed in circumstances where their peace principles could have no power over them. The fact is that sometimes unless you would allow the hand of violence to strike down the innocent and helpless; unless you would sacrifice everything that society values, freedom, truth and justice among the rest, you must fight. War becomes a necessity. Necessity is the highest law, and the highest law is lawful.

But more than the proposition, "war is sometimes lawful," requires us to prove, is true. To engage in it is sometimes a duty. We are called to it, as by a trumpet voice from Heaven. God calls men by his providence and His word, to defend the government of their country, to protect the community, and its great interests, at the hazard of their lives, and by the utmost exertion

of their arms. And he who refuses, under such circumstances, to assist by his sympathy, by his voice, by his property, by the sacrifice of his life, if needed and demanded, is not only a coward or a traitor, but exposes himself to the curse of God. "Curse ye Meroz," said the angel of the Lord, "curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

I have thus far said nothing of our own war, but have only reached the conclusion that war is sometimes lawful, and to engage in it is a duty. I now add that the war which we and our government are now carrying on against the rebellious states of the Union is a war of this character. But some one will begin to tell how it might have been avoided, and how much has been done by the free states to provoke it. But talk of this kind, even if we concede all that is here intended, is nothing to our present purpose. I maintain before the world, that the confederate states, so called, whatever provocation they may have had from the northern people or the northern states, had no excuse whatever for their treachery and rebellion against the government of their country. They base their right on a fallacy. The principle of secession, at the will of the seceding party, is monstrously presumptuous. It destroys the possibility of government. But this principle has been sufficiently exploded. It never can be sustained by argument; if supported at all it must be by arms. But suppose that secession as an extreme measure, was a right, it could not be justified, without proper preceding measures, to secure mutual understanding and agreement. But secession in our case, is a secession of arbitrary violence, secession forced on the masses who are victims to it, secession without consultation with the government or the people, a secession which unites in itself conspiracy, treachery and armed rebellion. Until the government had committed some act of oppression, until negotiation had been offered and rejected, there is no shadow of just excuse for treason against the nation.

What is the cause of this great rebellion. The immediate occasion of it may be one thing, the cause is another. The cause of this rebellion, on the part of the leaders, was unquestionably ambition. It was the ambition of slave holding monarchs, and aristocrats who desired to wield the government of the nation, for the extension and perpetuity of slavery, and by it as the basis of their civil polity, for personal and state aggrandizement, or for that of a section. The evidence is overwhelming that the slaveholding leaders had long since determined, that when they could no longer control the government, for the slaveholding interest, and for themselves, they would destroy it. When they saw, or thought they saw, that their influence was about to cease to be paramount, notwithstanding the government might still be impartially administered, and they themselves be admitted to the enjoyment of more than their proportional share of its power and honors, by a series of underhand measures and violent acts, in utter disregard of their oaths of office, they rushed into rebellion. Virtually rejecting republican principles, practically denying the right of the people to rule, even in their own states, preferring to found a community based on slavery and controlled by an aristocracy, without the smallest regard to the interests of any section of the country but their own, they undertook to break down the national government, to divide the public property according to their own judgment, or rather to seize everything within their grasp, and set up for themselves. It is not because they had been oppressed, not because the guarantees of the constitution had been violated, not because the most obnoxious laws, in their favor, had not been enforced, but because they feared that the slaveholding power, legislating for the slaveholding interest, could no longer predominate. A more causeless and wicked rebellion never rose, on a large scale, since God created man.

But it is said, why not let them go; the Northern States would be unspeakably better off without them? There are reasons and they are imperious. In the first place the seceding states are in rebellion. The government which allows rebellion has ceased to be a govern-

ment. Conspiracy and treason must be punished, and rebellion put down before the question of peaceable separation can be considered.

In the second place, considering the character of the Southern leaders, the nature of our population and the situation of our territory, any equitable division of the country is impossible. Look at Western Virginia, at Eastern Tennessee, at Kentucky and Missouri, look at slave-holding Maryland and the capital of the nation in the heart of it; look at our slaveholding states and our free states resting on the banks of the same rivers, sustained by the same great arteries of commerce, intertwined and interlocked everywhere with each other. You could no more agree upon a line of peaceful separation between them than you could between the vital organs of the human body. Will the South ever surrender Maryland, and allow the capital to remain at Washington? Will the North ever give up Maryland, and allow the capital to be removed? Or if the capital is retained, will Virginia allow the shores of the Potomac, on her side, to be possessed and fortified by a foreign power? Will the old Union allow Arlington Heights to be covered with hostile batteries which might pour their fiery bolts of war on the city of Washington any day in the year. Besides, suppose we were once separated, would the North ever consent again to return fugitive slaves? Would the South ever allow the free states to harbor them? Could we, on this subject, go a year without fighting?

Again, the North with her tariff, the South with her free trade and 2500 miles of border territory between them, would there not be endless collisions all along the line of separation, if not frontier war between the sections continually? At best, must not both parties keep great and dangerous and impoverishing standing armies and navies to watch and menace each other?

Still further, allow the principle of secession, as the "let them go" policy requires and where will you end? You introduce a disintegrating element which would dissolve the nation. If the South secede in mass and the right of secession is conceded, can any person who is intelligent suppose that the North, with its long narrow line of territory and diverse interests, will hold together? Could you bind the Pacific

and Atlantic, separated as they are by rock-ribbed mountains, into a common nationality? Could you prevent the great West and the great East, joined together by a strip of land scarcely wider than a strait between two seas from breaking apart? Could you hold back the city of New York, with her free trade interests, from declaring her independence or confederating with your enemies? No! strike out one star by secession, and you admit a principle which destroys the constellation, and which might also rend any one of the individual orbs into chaos! The idea of peaceable division, and a permanent peace to follow is a chimera and a madness! Looking down the future, I see nothing before us on this principle, but anarchy, despotism and destruction. It is a deep, black gulf of horrors which has no soundings.

But some counsel peace, on any terms. "Peace, peace when there is no peace!" And what do you council? You counsel the destruction of the nation, the breaking of it into fragments, by the blows of traitors. You council years and years, and there is reason to fear centuries, of anarchy, of conflicting states and populations, of degradation before the world, of return in many parts of the country to barbarism. You counsel the going down of liberty, on the western continent, and the eclipse of that luminary all over the world. You counsel the overthrow of institutions your fathers bled to establish. You advise to put the brand of infamy, on the war of the revolution, for what we must not fight to preserve, our fathers should not have fought to obtain. You counsel that the crown of glory should be torn from the brow of Washington, and that the names of Hancock and Adams and Hamilton be handed on to posterity in disgrace. More than all this, you counsel the wreck of the hopes of Christians, for how long will schools and colleges and churches flourish, when the nation has perished? Against the outcry of Christendom, you counsel that human slavery shall be tolerated, extended, perpetuated admired in the land; that the foreign slave-trade shall probably be resumed and enlarged; that the shores of Africa shall be made the hunting ground of immortal men again; and the ocean shall be burdened again with the old horrors of the middle passage. More personally you counsel the loss of self-respect, for every citizen of the North. You

counsel for us the domineering insolence of successful traitors and rebels. You counsel that the bleaching bones of our unburied sons who fell on the fields of Manassas shall cry for redress in vain. You counsel for us the perpetual contempt of European monarchies and of mankind. You counsel a sense of shame in the heart of every sailor and traveler who looks up to the old flag in a foreign land, for protection. And finally, you counsel that every man of us, conscious of cowardice and imbecility, shall go through the world in depression, and haste to hide our heads in dishonored graves! Peace on any terms? Peace on no terms, but those of justice, righteousness, liberty and a stable government for all. Peace, with sacred honor preserved, and the approval of God and our consciences, or war forever.

Indeed, you can have no peace till you conquer or are conquered; and you can have no honorable peace till you command it, by your arms. The weakness which cries peace, protracts the war. The North prosecutes it with very little animosity. A few kind words from the real heart of the South, even now, would melt us. But you can never have their kind words till you have conquered their respect. Forbearance, kindness, justice are not enough. Forbearance alone looks to them like cowardice; kindness, imbecility; and for justice, in their present state of mind, they will give you no credit. A high and holy resentment is more appropriate. They must feel your power,—they must feel that the iron arms of government are around them, and that there is no escape from its grasp. Show them that you are brave, wise, irresistible, and not to be trifled with, and they will begin to honor you and appreciate your regard for peace.

Is not the war, then, in which we are engaged a lawful war? Is it not a necessity? Was it not forced upon us? Do not providential circumstances constrain us to it? Has not the Almighty laid it down before us as an awful duty which He requires us to take up and perform? I can answer these questions in no way but in the affirmative. As distinctly as when the children of Israel went up and wept before the Lord and asked counsel of the Lord, saying, "Shall I go up to battle against the children of Benjamin, my brother?" and the Lord said, "Go up against him," so distinctly

is He speaking to us. We must fight against our brethren ; blood must flow, and there must be wailing all over the land. You say and I say, in the anguish of our spirit, as in Jeremiah, "O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet ? Put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest and be still." But the same old answer comes back to us, "How can it be quiet seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Askelon and against the sea-shore ? There hath he appointed it."

But, in the third place, if God demands this war at our hands, may we not expect assistance from Him and success ?

God is a sovereign. He has His own inscrutable plans. They extend over the illimitable. They are worked on scales of immensity, and have infinite complications, and it is only the smaller atoms of them that can be comprehended by us. "He giveth no account of His matters to His creatures." The presence-angels before the throne unroll, by slow degrees, the awful Book of Predestination, giving out events as they occur, and providential requirements at the time they are to be obeyed, thus opening God's designs before us only as we ascend to their fulfilment along the progressive steps of our lives and duties. Nor is the promise of success the foundation of obligation. We have our mission even when its results are not foreshadowed to us. Of this, however we may be certain, that God is righteous in all His works, alike in immensity and in His infinitesimal acts, and that in managing the several parts of His plan, whether they relate to nations, to sections or to individuals, He never violates the principles of justice, and that right conduct in men is not only certain to secure His favor, but is a strong indication that He intends to bless them. At the same time, it must be confessed that obedience to Him does not always result in what we call successes. The divine justice, and the supreme ends of the divine action, often require that men and nations should be punished. Sometimes they are utterly destroyed for their incorrigibleness ; sometimes because repentance comes too late. Sometimes the bad passions of two hostile communities are turned against each other, in the exercise of righteous retribution

on them both. And very often those who have the right on their side are chastened and purified as a necessary preparation to success.

Exactly what God intends as the future of this nation, no human prescience can divine. The cloud is black and impenetrable. Are we to be broken down for our sins, and our free institutions to become a hissing and a by-word over all the earth? Are we to be useful only as one more of those terrible examples which are set up along the track of history for the warning of mankind? or is there yet a great future before us, and is God leading us across the Red Sea of blood, that he may fit us, by suffering for prosperity? However these questions may be answered, it is manifest that God has laid down before us a terrible duty, and is saying as he said of old, "cursed is he that keepeth back his sword from blood." Nor is it necessary that we should foresee the ends which he designs by the war before we make sacrifices in it. Nor can we say beforehand what courses of public policy shall be pursued. Governments, nations are often constrained to accept conditions and relations which they had no intention originally to adopt. Men do not control events so much as events control men. The duty of the hour must be done, though results are concealed, for there is a power behind the scene which directs the acts and secures the consummation.

There are, however, conditions to be observed which are important to success, and render it hopeful. The first is the acknowledgment of God. If there be a supreme ruler, and his being is manifest, what can be more offensive to him than that his providence should be ignored. As the head of the Hebrew nation, we all know with what utter abhorrence idolatry was regarded by Him. And can He look upon Atheism with any more complacency? I say not that we are Atheists in form, but with the exception of a portion of the people, and that comparatively a small portion, God is scarcely regarded by us, except it be in the dialect of profaneness. His providence is rarely acknowledged in our politics. There is no place for Him in our policies. Our platforms leave Him out. His name is not mentioned or alluded to in our na-

tional constitution. From many of our public documents one could not gather a suspicion of His existence; while in many formal proclamations He is recognized only in the most distant manner. I speak not of the state but of the nation. Very few of our politicians ever make the faintest allusion to Him "who is head over all things to the church," and scarcely to Him who is arbiter of nations, and without whom not a sparrow falleth to the ground. And can we expect to prosper? God must deny His own perfections or punish such a people. As a condition of success, then, we must acknowledge that "the most high ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." And I look upon it as hopeful, and as an indication that our reason is returning to us, that the country has demanded and the president has ordered the observance of this day of public fasting, humiliation and prayer, and still more that God has called to the immediate headship of our vast army a youthful Christian general, whose faith in prayer and whose regard for the sanctity of the Sabbath has inspired every Christian heart in the land with new confidence.

But we must not only acknowledge the government of God over the nation, but the justice of his judgments upon us. Wars, though necessary, are scourges for sins. We have been a wicked people; perhaps, considering our intelligence and our opportunities for good, as wicked a nation as God ever tolerated. Our very intelligence has incited us to schemes of wickedness which a more ignorant people might not have thought of undertaking. Even in our sectional relations, many at the North have been utterly selfish and bitter, and irritating beyond endurance. Others have shown themselves willing to sacrifice everything but power and party to the Moloch of slavery, while most of us, in our matters of difference with the South, have been offensively self-righteous. And all together we have done much to bring ourselves into circumstances which at length made war a necessity for us.

Nor on the very subject which is the underlying cause of the war—that element of rottenness in the state—have we grounds for assumption. True, human slavery has perished at the North, but,

humanly speaking, we are quite as much indebted for this result to the coldness of our climate and the hardness of our soil, as to the moral principle of our people. Had New England been a vast river-bed, among whose miasmas white laborers could scarcely live, and the sweat of negroes was immensely profitable, I am not sure that the boasts of our freedom would have been heard among us to-day. We condemn southern manners and institutions, and regard with horror the threatened renewal of the African slave-trade. But has it not been carried on surreptitiously for years by northern commerce? The black ships which have cleaved the main, freighted with groans, have been northern vessels, manned by northern seamen. Many of our northern politicians, for the sake of power and party, when they knew these facts have kept them out of view. And a little has shown what would have been done if the navy of England and the brand and perils of piracy had not stood in the way of this horrible traffic. For all these sins, and many more, the judgments of heaven have come upon us, and let us confess it. We have deserved war, deserved to be involved in complications which made war a necessity. I know not that God could have been an impartial governor of the nations, and not have sent this judgment upon us. Nor have we a right to expect success till we have accepted our punishment as deserved.

As another condition of success, we must turn from boasting and self-confidence and trust in God. We boasted before the war, and have boasted all the way since, and, notwithstanding our pride has been so much humbled we are boasting still. The enemy were regarded with contempt. They had no ships, no munitions of war, no means to support an army—scarcely any supplies for daily living except what they obtained from us. They were living over a volcano, and dare not stir lest it should burst and overwhelm them. We, on the other hand, were the invincibles, and had only to march and the enemy would run or be crushed under our feet. We had men, wealth, ships, courage, praying soldiers, the sympathy of all civilized nations, humanity, right, God, all on our side. If any foreign nation should interfere, we were ready to fight the whole world. We rushed head-

long into battle, dreaming of nothing but victory. Partly to accommodate politicians, who wished to see the sport, the Sabbath seemed to be chosen as the grand gala-day of leisure, just adapted to the spectacle. Like an armed mob our improvident thousands rushed on, insufficiently officered, without provisions, without order, and though many of our troops fought bravely we were beaten, we were overwhelmed, and, excuse it as we may, suffered one of the greatest and most mortifying defeats recorded in the history of the world. We hung our heads for a few days, and then began to boast what we should do next time. Our boasting, self-confidence founded on self-conceit, made us ridiculous. Our vain-glorying excited the disgust of other nations, and when foreign writers took notice of it, proud and irascible, we threatened to launch all the thunderbolts in the heavens against them and the countries to whom they belonged. Except, perhaps a short time after the bombardment of Sumpter, unless there has been an improvement during some of the recent weeks, very little dependence on God was apparent. It is time this miserable self-sufficiency was ended. Boastings are not bullets, talk will not silence batteries. Let us cease glorifying ourselves, and go down on our knees before the Almighty. God, according to the laws of His providence, does not grant His great victories to a religiously professing people till they feel their dependence. So far as I recollect, in all the wars of the Israelites, not a single permanent success was ever given to the self-dependent and boasting party, nor help ever withheld to those who trusted wholly in God. Even if you were to deny the inspiration of the Old Testament, and look upon it as only a secular record, the laws of moral cause and effect, as seen in the history of the Hebrew people and the great ancient nations, and, I might add, illustrated by the history of all ages, would seem to demonstrate that "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." The christian scriptures also teach that "he that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted," and the Christian experience of eighteen hundred years has accepted this principle as the law of God in his dealings both with nations and with individuals. Guided by the past, one might have anticipated the consequences of our self-

applauding onrush to Manassas. Indeed, many and many a Christian had been heard to say we never can be prospered till we have been humbled.

As another condition of success, we must sustain the government. Of course we must, if the foregoing sentiments are correct. The government as now officered, is the only power in the land which can carry on this war, and bring it to a successful close. The idea once and again darkly intimated that the times demand the rising up of some man who shall assume authority and lead on the people to conquest, is monstrous. Horrors would follow in that line of action; let no patriot dream of it. We are already out at sea in the gale; our destiny is bound up with the ship we are in, and it is the only one which can by any possibility carry us safe to the land. If it goes down, we all go down with it. But there is a higher reason why we should sustain the government. God requires it of us. The government—the existing government is his ordinance. The powers that be are ordained of Him, and we are forbidden to resist the powers. “Render unto Cæsar,” said our Savior, by which He meant the government, “the things that are Cæsars.” And he wrought a miracle to pay a tax of questionable justice, simply because the government imposed it. And of the infamous rulers which controlled the religious affairs of Judea, He said to His disciples, “The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses seat, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do,” only do not follow their examples. The scripture doctrine is that government must be obeyed, whoever for the time being administers it, unless it be in those extraordinary cases which justify revolution, or those more extraordinary cases still, in which, like Daniel, the subject is required to deny or dishonor his Maker. But there is another reason why we, as a people, should sustain the government. It is not the government of usurpers, despots, autocrats or monarchs; it is our own government, the government of the people, and in the election of officers, every man has his vote and his voice. No matter, then, whether we approve of its measures or not, we are bound not only by the authority which God has given it, but by our own self-love to sustain it. We must sustain it by bearing cheerfully

the burdens it imposes, making the pecuniary sacrifices which it requires, volunteering to supply the means necessary for carrying on its operations, by responding heartily to its calls, by strenuous deeds and perils, and by words of earnestness and encouragement.†

I have said, we must sustain the government, and I add, the government must sustain and direct the people,* and the people must sustain each other. Union is power. Let parties be thrown overboard, at least for the emergency, and the whole save the State. We boast of patriotism. Now is the time to show it. A nation should know its times. Northern Freemen! you have one of those opportunities, which come only after intervals of ages; can you not rise to the greatness of it? Let the world see your magnanimity. Rulers, we look to you for an example. This is no time for "private griefs." Must the old quarrels of Achilles and Agamemnon, which sent so many brave souls of heroes into eternity, be forever repeated? In the name of all the patriots in Heaven, and of all the nations desiring freedom, and of countless millions of posterity, the world entreats you to rise to the greatness of your opportunity, and let history record your magnanimity and all the generations of the future, point back to the American PATRIOTS of 1861.

†As a loan is demanded, ought we not to accept its conditions? If the government stands, it will be a profitable investment; if the government goes down, what other property will retain its value? But why do we speak of profit and loss. Shall we not hazard our dollars to sustain a government, for which we hazard the lives of our children?

*The author of this discourse would be the last man to criticize the government unfavorably. He knows something of the immense labors it has performed, and the prodigious difficulties which it had to overcome. At the same time he cannot forbear to say that the government should tell us emphatically what it wants, and should show us how to perform it. If it wants men can there not be some arrangements in all our towns or counties, by mass meetings or otherwise, to stir up the people to furnish them? If larger subscriptions to the national loan are desired, should there not be conveniences in every village for taking it? The thousands of small capitalists, in our country towns, cannot afford the time and expense of travel and perplexity which the taking of fifty or a hundred dollars worth of the national scrip now costs them. And has not the time come when all the enrolled militia, at home, or a draft of one-tenth or more of them, should be put under efficient drill for any emergency which may require their services? And might not most, if not all this work be accomplished by the agency of patriotic and responsible citizens, without much expense to the government, if a *system* could be adopted, and "the powers that be" would authorize it?

As another condition of success, we must be in earnest, and much more than we are. The loyal states are not yet half awake. We trust in our unbounded resources, but fail to employ them. We have a great war on our hands, but we think there will be soldiers enough to fight it through, and some time or other our side will win. Meanwhile, we talk hopefully of the revival of business, and prepare ourselves to renew the old competitions of covetousness. What many thus look upon as encouragement, to my mind is portentous. While the nation lies bleeding, we turn supinely away, and seek again for the loaves and fishes. Many of us seem to regard the whole conflict as something outside, which does not touch us in person, much less reach down into the depths of our souls. Meanwhile, time is passing on, and you make progress, in many respects, only backwards. Months have gone and still the capital of your nation is in danger. You have had your great uprisings and rushings to the scene of conflict, and still in almost every emergency, your army is outnumbered by the enemy. While the North is foolishly confident and inefficient, the South is terribly in earnest. With them it is a life or death struggle. They leave all business, sacrifice or jeopardize all property, offer up their lives, stir the blood of all their people—and when they fight, they fight with the courage of despair. They are also unscrupulous, and full of strategems, and ready for desperate deeds. Such a rebellion, covering as it does, nearly half our territory, cannot be put down by country-musters—or the froth and foam of a gala-day patriotism. You have a great and terrible work to do, and you must undertake it with terrible determination. You must comprehend the crisis and meet it—offering your treasure, offering your blood, and what is more precious, the blood of your sons, you must take hold of this work with an awful solemnity—and perform it. There must be no half-way measures. The heaviest blows are now the most merciful blows. If you would not protract this war for years, sacrifice thousands of lives and desolate the land, you of the North should put forth the whole of your strength. Presume not on the frosts of winter, on the stringency of your blockade, on the great doings which are to come. So you have talked from the beginning, but your confidences have failed you. Scott

may be capable of infallible strategies—Banks may have comprehensive ability, and Butler dashing bravery, and you may admire the Christian wisdom and heroism of McClellan, but the great soul of the free North must be stirred down to its depths, or all these will fail.

As the last condition of success, you must pray. While you work with all your might, you must pray with all your heart. You have seen enough of mere man's wisdom and man's power. You have planned, and on account of your pride and your sins, God has turned your councils into foolishness. He has sent faintness of heart into your hosts. Some of your most reliable leaders have been slain in battle, or have proved incompetent, and your soldiers have been captured by thousands. And now if you would succeed you must pray. You Christians who believe in providence and in prayer, who believe that God is founder of the nation and superintends it, who hope that it may yet subserve the cause of humanity and Christ, pray. Study the war-prayers of the old Hebrew saints ; they are scattered thickly over the pages of the Old Testament, they are models of humility, dependence and faith, and always brought down the answer. Study the conditions of acceptable prevailing prayer as taught by your Saviour. Get access to the throne. Cry out, "nearer, my God to Thee, nearer to Thee;" that coming close to your Father you may pray like a child. Men have subdued kingdoms, escaped the edge of the sword, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens, and all through faith. Nor are God's mercies limited to ancient times. He heard your fathers, when they bought your free government for you, with their blood. He has loved this nation. It is the last, the youngest, the most hopeful which He has brought into being. Even now He stands in heaven's doorway bending down, desiring that you may pray for it. O brethren, pray for it. It is a season of awful solemnity. We are a spectacle to mankind. The life of your nation is in peril. It struggles for its breath. Should it expire, the whole earth would feel the shock. "Lord it is nothing with Thee to help, whether with many or them that have no power ; help us, O Lord, our God, for we rest on Thee. Amen."